



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

for no selfish advantage for their own nation. They would despise anyone who fought for the selfish advantage of any nation. They are giving their lives that homes everywhere as well as the homes they love in America may be kept sacred and safe, and men everywhere be free, as they insist upon being free. They are fighting for the ideals of their own land—great ideals, immortal ideals, ideals which shall light the way for all men to the places where justice is done and men live with lifted heads and emancipated spirits. That is the reason they fight with solemn joy and are invincible.

Let us make this, therefore, a day of fresh comprehension, not only for what we are about and of renewed and clear-eyed resolution, but a day of consecration also in which we devote ourselves without pause or limit to the great task of setting our own country and the whole world free to render justice to all and of making it impossible for small groups of political rulers anywhere to disturb our peace or the peace of the world or in any way to make tools and puppets of those upon whose consent and upon whose power their own authority and their own very existence depend.

We may count upon each other. The nation is of a single mind. It is taking counsel with no special class. It is serving no private or single interest. Its own mind has been cleared and fortified by these days, which burn the dross away. The light of a new conviction has penetrated to every class amongst us. We realize as we never realized before that we are comrades dependent upon one another, irresistible when united, powerless when divided. And so we join hands to lead the world to a new and better day.

THE MEASURE OF A PERMANENT PEACE

By GEORGE CREEL

Chairman of the Committee on Public Information

PUBLIC opinion stands recognized as a vital part of national defense, a mighty force in national attack. The strength of the firing-line is not in trench or barricade alone, but has its source in the morale of the civilian population from which the fighting force is drawn.

Disunity and disloyalty tear at the very heart of courage. The Committee on Public Information fights ignorance, misunderstanding and disaffection. It works for the maintenance of morale by every process of stimulation.

This war is not the war of an administration, nor yet the war of an army, or the war of a navy. It is the war of 105,000,000 people. Not Republican, nor Democrat, nor Jew, nor Gentile, nor rich, nor poor, nor white, nor black, but 105,000,000 Americans, called upon equally to serve and sacrifice. They are entitled to report, explanation and understanding—and only if this sense of participation is not given will whole-hearted support be lacking.

It is in this belief that the work of the committee has been carried on. To its banners it has rallied all that is fine and ardent in the civilian population, until today it directs the activities of over 125,000 expert fighters in the field of public opinion.

There are the 75,000 volunteer members of the Four Minute Men, carrying the burning arrow into every corner of America; 9,000 other trained speakers for specific purposes; 3,000 of the leading writers and historians of the United States, who prepare the pamphlets and articles that set down war causes and war aims; all the great artists of America, donating the posters and paintings that thrill and inspire; the thousands of advertising experts, who prepare the appeals of government for insertion in the donated space procured by their energy; there is the whole motion-picture industry standing squarely at our back.

I say to you today that the fight for public opinion has been won, not only in the neutral countries of the earth, but in the United States as well. There is no organized disloyalty.

Individual disloyalty has been isolated and marked down and the full force of law is destroying it.

There is no apathy. Not a single request of government but has met with instant and enthusiastic response. The people of America are behind America to the limit. We have unity in the land today—unity unexampled in the history of this or any other nation. But nothing is more true than that this unity must be maintained if we are to win.

It has been said often, but it cannot be said too often, that there is more than one kind of fighting. There is the heroic endeavor of the firing line, but there is the no less heroic endeavor of the factory and the field, the shop and the home.

It has been said often, but it cannot be said too often, that every man, woman, and child in the United States is called to the colors no less than the soldier and sailor. Those who defend our inner lines may serve America as valiantly, if less gloriously, as those who go over the top to victory or death.

This war cannot be lost in France. The courage of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg have been tested anew by flame and gas at Cantigny and Chateau-Thierry. Today the indomitable courage of our soldiers not only thrills the heart of the nation, but is poured like wine into the war weary veins of France and Italy and England.

This war can only be lost in the United States. We can lose only if we fail our soldiers and sailors in any way or in any degree. Mere sacrifice is not enough. Deprivation is a half-way measure unless accompanied by a very flame of faith and the very extreme of energy and effort. Saving may not be permitted to stand as any substitute for service.

Each new day brings us news from the battle fronts of France that is thrilling and inspiring. The initiative is in the hands of General Foch. It is the Germans who are retreating, the Germans who are now wondering where the next blow will fall. And under these blows the German morale is shattering and the German line is breaking. Ultimate victory is as certain as the coming of the dawn, but in the very joy of present successes there is a danger that is as menacing as German arms.

We are a nation of optimists. This has been our strength but we must take care that it is not our weakness. Already, from numberless sources, we are receiving information that proves that the disintegrating forces of over-confidence are at work. People are say-

ing "what is the use of the new draft law?" and "what is the use of another Liberty Loan; the war will soon be over."

Germany could well afford to spend millions to spread this point of view. In its essence it is defeatism of the worst sort. It weakens the will to save, to serve, to give, and above all, it weakens the will to fight and the will to win.

Instead of slackening our efforts, recent triumphs are bugles commanding us to more strenuous endeavor. Northern France and Belgium are still in the hands of the invaders. Behind their front lines stretch mile upon mile of carefully prepared defenses. Serbia and Roumania still lie prostrate; Russia is to be considered; and to assume that the successes of the past month spell immediate victory is a madness that, if permitted, may drag us down again into the valley of the shadow.

Whether it be optimism or defeatism, the result is the same; both tend to weaken the hand that grasps the sword at a time when strength and indomitable purpose are more necessary than ever before.

Let no one ask, "when will the war end?" for it is a question that tears at the very heart of resolve. This war will end when we win and not until then. The things that drove us into war, the things for which we are fighting, are not special and personal, but great human truths and fundamental human ideals that do not permit of truce or compromise.

These are the things to be remembered when Germany, despairing of military success, renews the peace drives with which she has sought to poison the opinion of the world. The whole history of America attests our devotion to peace, and even today the hearts and the ears of the nation are open to the word, but it must be a true word and not a false one.

The war aims of America have been very briefly stated. "What we seek," President Wilson has said, "is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind." Any peace will be a premature peace if it comes before that end has been attained.

We are not fighting merely to punish Germany for the sinking of the *Lusitania*, or to avenge the American citizens who were murdered on the scores of vessels which the Germans sank. We are not fighting only to drive the forces of the Kaiser out of Belgium and France and Serbia and Italy and Russia. We are not fighting merely to compel the return of captured provinces, the restoration of ruined lands, or the rehabilitation of conquered peoples. We are fighting for these things as part of a much greater object. We are fighting to make such another war as this—and all such outrages and injustices of war as this—forever impossible.

We seek, as President Wilson has said, "the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world—or if it cannot be presently destroyed at least its reduction to virtual impotence." We seek, for example, the destruction of the military autocracy of Germany, and, if we cannot destroy it, we aim to make it unable henceforth to repeat its assault upon the peace of the world in any new program of military con-

quest. Any peace will be a premature peace which comes before that end has been attained.

We seek a peace, as President Wilson has said, that shall provide for "the settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery." That is to say, we seek a peace that shall not be based upon any barter and exchange of the territory or conquered peoples. We seek to end the competition for "spheres of influence" and military colonies and enforced trade advantages and foreign "concessions," which has been one of the predetermining causes of war in the past. We seek to establish an adequate defense of law and concerted policy for the Balkan States, for China, and for every people that is weak enough as yet to be in danger of being exploited by force. Any peace will be a premature peace which comes before the Central Powers are forced to accept such a settlement.

We aim, as President Wilson has said, to establish "the consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another."

And finally, in order to secure and enforce these aims, we seek "the establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the people directly concerned shall be sanctioned."

Already, the German Imperial Government appears to be aware that it cannot hope to impose its will upon the world by military power, and it is moving to save part of its present conquests by negotiation. It is willing to exchange its gains in France and Belgium for the right to retain its military advantages in Russia and the Balkan States. As time goes on and the autocrats of Germany face a more certain downfall, they will improve the terms which they offer to the world for their own salvation. Any peace will be a premature peace which does not leave them at least reduced to "virtual impotence." Any peace will be a premature peace which arranges for the allegiance of any people, the return of any territory, the establishment of any economic arrangement or political relationship upon any basis except "the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned." Any peace will be a premature peace that is achieved, as President Wilson has said, "by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish, with their projects for balance of power and of national opportunity."

Germany must renounce all her plans for power over her neighbors or for national opportunity at their expense. She must abandon the weapons with which she

has hoped to obtain that power and that opportunity. There can be no permanent peace with her until she has made that renunciation. Any other sort of peace will be a premature peace—a peace that will be merely a prelude to a new war.

President Wilson has pledged this nation to accept peace only on these terms. Lloyd George has announced that on such terms the Germans can obtain peace tomorrow from Great Britain and from France. It remains only for the American people to support their President, to be on their guard against all arguments for a premature peace which the German agents and sympathizers will now begin to circulate among us, and to maintain our resolve not to lay down arms until we have obtained these terms of peace that may make a permanent peace guaranteed and certain.

I am not, and have never been, one of those who believe that war is ennobling or that nations or individuals find their souls through wholesale killing. But neither am I, nor will I ever be, one who holds to the belief that war is never just nor necessary.

Life itself is a struggle from the cradle to the grave. Every great principle demands that one fight for it; and the belief that it is not worth dying for is not worth living for.

Let us stand fast against the Chauvinists, with their gospel of hate and disunity and let us stand fast also against those who refuse to see the essential justice and necessity of this war, putting the base fact of physical life above spiritual death. As God is my judge, I would rather see my children dead at my feet than that they should grow up in a world made vile and poisonous by German victory; that their souls should develop in the spiritual vacuum decreed by the supremacy of Teutonic ideals.

It is America that is at stake today—not the America that is on the lips of men, but the America that has ever been in the hearts of men, standing for all that is noble in human hope and human aspiration.

At many times in my life, I have urged the propriety and necessity of change in governmental institutions, and as long as I live I will continue to insist that governments are for people, but never at any time have I held to the belief, or even suggested, that our form of government was not the greatest ever devised by the mind of man.

If our experiment in democracy has had its failures, it is always to be remembered that failures are not the fault of the institution, but the neglect of the individual.

The ballot is in our hands—powerful for every purpose—and there is not an evil in our national life that may not be cured by intelligent exercise of the franchise right. For anyone to cry out in hopelessness, to adopt an attitude of despair, is not an indictment of democracy but an individual confession of ignorance and cowardice. Democracy is not an automatic device but the struggle everlasting. This great truth is often overlooked, and the growing curse of the land is those impatient thousands who seek to substitute revolution for progress, and who prefer miracles to the slower processes of achievement.

Slowly, but with increasing certainty, the equal jus-

tice dreamed by Jefferson is coming to pass. Each day sees new victories for progress, and even as America has led the world in invention, industry and the mastery of materials, so will she lead the world in solving those age-old problems of poverty, inequality, oppression and unhappiness.

From time immemorial, war has been attended by every reaction, but who will say that it is the case in America today. While we are fighting for democracy abroad, we have not failed to safeguard at home. As never before, the welfare of men, women and children has the concern of the State and not only has every protective law been retained in full vigor, but those measures have been added to in amazing degree by statute, proclamation, and orderly agreement.

So, guard well the inner lines. In every hand in the United States today is the sword of America. The grasp must not be weakened, the sword must strike until the powers of darkness lie at our feet, until the shadow of militarism lifts from the world, until the heights of human aspiration are bathed in their ancient sunshine.

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT TO NEUTRALS AND BELLIGERENTS

AN objective and conscientious examination of the situation of all the belligerent States no longer leaves doubt that all peoples, on whatever side they may be fighting, long for a speedy end to the bloody struggle. Despite this natural and comprehensible desire for peace, it has not so far been possible to create those preliminary conditions calculated to bring the peace efforts nearer to realization and bridge the gap which at present still separates the belligerents from one another.

A more effective means must therefore be considered whereby the responsible factors of all the countries can be offered an opportunity to investigate the present possibilities of an understanding.

The first step which Austria-Hungary, in accord with her allies, undertook on December 12, 1916, for the bringing about of peace did not lead to the end hoped for.

The grounds for this lay assuredly in the situation at that time. In order to maintain in their peoples the war spirit, which was steadily declining, the allied governments had by the most severe means suppressed even any discussion of the peace idea. And so it came about that the ground for a peace understanding was not properly prepared. The natural transition from the wildest war agitation to a condition of conciliation was lacking.

It would, however, be wrong to believe that the peace step we then took was entirely without result. Its fruits consist of something which is not to be overlooked—that the peace question has not since vanished from the order of the day. The discussions which have been carried on before the tribunal of public opinion have disclosed proof of the not slight differences which today still separate the warring Powers in their conception of peace conditions.